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TANZANIA AFTER THE PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 2010

DAWN OF A MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRATIC ERA?

Stefan Reith

On 31 October 2010 elections were held in Tanzania for the directly-elected position of Union President and to the National Parliament (*Bunge*). Only 43 per cent of the roughly 20 million people eligible to vote took part. As expected, the presidential election was won by the incumbent President, Jakaya Kikwete (CCM), although his 61 per cent of the vote was well below his showing in 2005 (80 per cent). His biggest challenger, Willbrod Slaa of the opposition party CHADEMA, got 26 per cent of the vote across the country, while Ibrahim Limpumba, the candidate of the Islamic-leaning CUF, was third with 8 per cent. The parliamentary election results mirrored those of the presidential election. The two biggest opposition parties were able to wrest control of a number of constituencies away from the CCM and reduce the level of their influence in Parliament.

This is the first time since the reintroduction of the multi-party system in 1992 that *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM, Party of the Revolution), who have ruled without a break since the country was founded in 1964, have had to endure significant losses. Of the 18 official opposition parties, only CHADEMA (*Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo*, Party for Democracy and Development) and CUF (*Civic United Front*) have developed into serious political entities. While the latter have built their strongholds in the more Islamic coastal regions and in Zanzibar, CHADEMA is the only opposition party to successfully develop a nationwide party

structure and to position itself as credible opposition to the ruling CCM for future elections.

The elections, which took place in a peaceful and orderly fashion, have confirmed Tanzania's reputation as a haven of stability in an unstable region. What is seen as particularly positive is the fact that the elections in Zanzibar went off peacefully, whereas in past elections the bitter rivalry between CCM and CUF and some very close election results have led to bloodshed and unrest. In the run up to the elections it had been decided by referendum that the second largest party would also help form the government, and it was this agreement on a *Government of National Unity* that prompted CUF candidate, Seif Sharif Hamad, to immediately accept the closest of election defeats (CCM: 50.1 per cent; CUF: 49.1 per cent). The new President of Zanzibar is the former Vice President of the Union, Ali Mohamed Shein, while Seif Sharif Hamad is Vice President.

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The development from a one party state to multi-party democracy is still in its infancy but it is starting to look like a more realistic possibility. The chances of there being a first democratic change of government in five years time depends to a large extent on the ability of the Government to find solutions to some of the country's most pressing problems. These include high levels of poverty, widespread corruption and the lack of adequate infrastructure in health and transport as well as in the water and electricity supply sectors. In its Human Development Report 2010, the UN put Tanzania in 148th place out of 169. 34 per cent of Tanzanians still live under the poverty line of one dollar per day. Despite economic growth being up by 7 per cent in recent years, the number of people living in poverty fell by only 2 per cent between 2001 and 2007. The actual number of people living in poverty has in fact gone up by three per cent per year because of constantly growing population numbers.¹ A major problem for the

1 | United Nations Development Programme, Tanzania, <http://www.tz.undp.org> (accessed November 12, 2010).

country's development is widespread corruption. Transparency International's 2009 Global Corruption Barometer² put Tanzania in 126th place out of 180.

During the elections, the CHADEMA presidential candidate, Willbrod Slaa, was able to present himself as the candidate who would fight against corruption. It remains to be seen whether CUF and CHADEMA in particular will be able to use the parliamentary seats they have won to put the government under more pressure than ever before and to exercise a degree of control over it so that they can influence the country's political agenda.

BACKGROUND

The former unity party CCM has won every election since 1992 with a huge majority. In 2005 President Kikwete was able to improve upon the results of this predecessor, Benjamin Mkapa (72 per cent) with 80 per cent of the vote. Despite a few isolated irregularities, the result was not down to massive vote rigging but was more an expression of the CCM candidate's enormous popularity and the trust

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that the ruling party still enjoyed amongst the people. There are several reasons for this. For one thing, the party, which grew up out of the freedom movement against British colonial power and which heavily supported the independence battles of other African countries while under the leadership of party leader and President Julius K. Nyerere, still enjoyed a lot of historical support. CCM still benefits today from the reverence the people of Tanzania feel towards the "Father of the Nation", who died in 1999. Secondly, CCM has become so closely identified with the state apparatus and its resources during its long years of rule that the majority of Tanzanians these days find it difficult to differentiate the party from the Government itself.

Added to this was the weakness in the past of the opposition parties, who were made up of little more than voting clubs for their respective party leaders and top candidates. The only real exceptions were CUF, who had their strongholds in Zanzibar and in the Islamic-leaning coastal regions, and

CHADEMA, who enjoyed a lot of support predominantly in the north of the country in Arusha, in the Kilimanjaro region and around Lake Victoria. In 2005 the CUF presidential candidate, Ibrahim Lipumba, finished second behind President Kikwete with 11.6 per cent of the vote. The CHADEMA chairman, Freeman Mbowe, was next with 5.9 per cent. CCM had 206 of the 236 directly-elected seats in Parliament, CUF 19 seats, CHADEMA five. The United Democratic Party and the Tanzanian Labour Party each had one seat. Against this background CCM and their presidential candidate were expected to enjoy another comfortable victory. The only promise of suspense lay in how many votes they might lose and how well the opposition parties would do.

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In addition to the President of the Union and the members of Parliament in Dodoma, the elections of 31 October 2010 would also choose the President and members of Parliament of the semi-autonomous region of Zanzibar, which has a disproportionately high level of importance in Tanzania's political system. Of the 232 constituencies, 50 are allocated to the 1.2 million people of Zanzibar, while the remaining 182 seats are shared amongst around 40 million Tanzanians on the mainland. In addition to these 232 constituencies, whose members are directly elected by simple majority³, a further 80 seats are reserved for women, who are selected from a list of party candidates on the basis of proportional representation. Added to this are five members of the Zanzibar House of Representatives and a further 10 non-elected members of Parliament nominated by the President, the Attorney General and the President himself, who does not necessarily have to be a Member of Parliament.

Both the Government and the opposition fought hard during the election campaign, but, with the exception of one or two local incidents, it was largely peaceful. In order to take part in the campaign all parties in Tanzania have to sign a binding code of conduct which forbids their

3 | Tanzania follows the Anglo-Saxon example and allocates Parliamentary seats on the basis of "winner takes all". Only those who win their respective constituencies take their seat in Parliament. There is no second vote for a particular political party and its selected candidates.

candidates or supporters from being involved in any form of violence, from using insulting language or from carrying weapons. According to the code, the official language to the election campaign is Swahili and local languages can only be used in exceptional circumstances and then only if the services of an interpreter are used. Any breaches of the code can be reported to the NEC (National Election Committee). CCM made a number of complaints, especially about the aggressive language used by the main CHADEMA candidate, Willibrod Slaa, and accused him of using hate speeches and insults against the Government. The state radio broadcaster TBC used this as a reason to interrupt the broadcast of a CHADEMA rally in Dar es Salaam. For their part, CHADEMA tried unsuccessfully to have President Kikwete excluded from the elections for cancelling the increase in minimum wages for Government employees during the election and CCM for apparently using Government resources to fund their lavish campaign. The opposition was more successful with their protest against campaign posters that showed President Kikwete carrying out official duties at the seat of Government. The NEC instructed CCM to take down the offending posters. In Arusha it was known for middle men to try to purchase voting eligibility documents from potential voters. According to observers, candidates and campaign managers tried to use this tactic to keep voters away from the poll booths in their opponents' local strongholds.

The media reported extensively on the election campaign and the ruling party was clearly over-represented in

the coverage. CCM also enjoyed a huge advantage in terms of political campaign spots purchased in the private media. Surprisingly, the ruling party banned their candidates on occasion from taking part in

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public debates with other parties on local radio stations. The campaign gained momentum with the surprising nomination of CHADEMA General Secretary Willibrod Slaa as the party's presidential candidate – in 2005 the leader of the party, Freeman Mbowe, had been the candidate. Slaa, a former priest and a CHADEMA Member of Parliament for the previous 15 years, became famous throughout the country in 2007 when he published a *List of shame* that showed the names of corrupt ministers and high CCM

party functionaries. Although those on the list constantly threatened to sue Slaa for character assassination, there were never any official complaints made against him. Since that time the CHADEMA politician has been a tireless campaigner against corruption in the country.⁴ Slaa made the fight against corruption the main theme of his election campaign. He promised that he would, if elected, fight against corruption with all means available, stop the waste and misappropriation of public funds, restore the Government's credibility, reduce the size of the Cabinet and limit the power of the President via a change to the Constitution. CHADEMA's 2010 election programme had the appropriate title *Hatudanganyiki*: "We will not be cheated."

Other key points of the election manifesto were improvements in social structures, particularly in the education and health sectors, and water supply. These were to be financed by extending the tax base, abolishing tax exemptions and loopholes and reducing the salaries of parliamentarians and high civil servants. The manifesto also called for a cut in the out-of-hand allowance system, which had been strongly criticized by the international community. This allowed Tanzanian civil servants and politicians to claim large amounts of expenses when travelling on business or attending seminars and international conferences.⁵

The popularity of Slaa's campaign rallies and his support amongst the people were so great that many observers thought he might even have an outsider's chance of winning. Widely differing polls in the run up to the election suggested a result ranging from a landslide victory for Kikwete through to a possible victory for Slaa.⁶ CUF candidates and those of the smaller parties were expected to

4 | It is assumed that corruption accounts for up to a third of the annual budget. Britain-Tanzania Society, *Tanzanian Affairs*, Nr. 97/2010, 6.

5 | The allowance system not only rewarded absence from the workplace but also provided a strange reason for Tanzania's relatively large-size delegations at international conferences.

6 | The REDET Institute (Research for Democracy and Education) of the University of Dar es Salaam had Kikwete in the lead in September with 71 per cent, ahead of his closest rival Slaa (12.3 per cent) and Lipumba (11 per cent) In contrast, a poll carried out by the Tanzanian Citizen's Information Bureau in the middle of October had Slaa on 48 per cent, Kikwete on 38 per cent and Lipumba on 9 per cent.

have no chance. As a result the election became a two-horse race between the CCM and CHADEMA candidates. Attacks on each other became more pointed and the Government-leaning media became more and more critical of opposition candidates. CHADEMA suspected that the Government was behind a targeted media campaign against their candidates. As the election drew ever closer there were a few isolated incidents between CCM and CHADEMA supporters in which one person was fatally wounded in the Shinyanga Region in the northwest of the country. In Arusha a group of presumed CCM supporters disrupted a CHADEMA rally and caused a riot in which people were injured. However, local incidents like this were an exception.

So the elections of 31 October 2010 took place in largely transparent, orderly and peaceful fashion, as acknowledged by many international election observers and national NGOs.⁷ However, there were one or two isolated incidents,

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such as in one area of Dar es Salaam where young men blocked the entrance to a polling station and had to be driven off with tear gas. In seven voting districts it was necessary to have a re-run because there were not enough voting slips available on Election Day. In some places voters complained that their names were not on the relevant voting register in their polling stations, even though they had registered to vote. In some places, either by accident or design, the electoral register from another polling station a long way away turned up. Students in particular were unhappy because the Government had postponed at short notice the start of the new term until November. Students, who had registered to vote at their place of study and now had to stay at home longer than expected, were unable to vote. Student representatives claimed that in this way approx. 60,000 young people were robbed of their right to vote, which was presumably what the Government intended. As a result, student organizations filed a lawsuit against the Government.

7 | Cf. Commonwealth Observer Group, Tanzania General Elections 2010, Interim Statement by Rt Hon Paul East QC, Chairperson, Dar es Salaam, November 2, 2010; European Union, Press Release, EU observes elections in six of seven constituencies; peaceful, transparent and generally orderly process, Dar es Salaam November 16, 2010, Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO), *Interim Report on Performance of Tanzania's 2010 general elections*, Dar es Salaam.

The results in Zanzibar were followed with particular interest. Although the previous elections had been marred by bloody clashes and dozens of deaths, things remained calm this time. In this respect, the assumption of both major political parties that an agreement on power-sharing, irrespective of the outcome of the election, would reduce the potential for conflict had borne fruit. While in Zanzibar supporters of both CCM and CUF were celebrating together in spite of some very close results, on the mainland in Mwanza and in an area of Dar es Salaam there were violent protests and roadblocks in response to the long time it was taking to count the votes. The police used water cannons and tear gas against the protestors.

ELECTION RESULTS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

Forecasts and projections on election night are unheard of in Tanzania. However, once the first constituencies had been counted it was clear that President Kikwete was going to win the election as expected, but also that he would suffer a surprisingly high number of losses compared to 2005. The official results, published on 5 November, showed the incumbent with 61.7 per cent of the votes. Slaa, the CHADEMA opposition candidate, got a respectable 26.34 per cent, while the CUF candidate Lipumba was on 8.06 per cent. Of the 239 constituencies, 206 went to Kikwete, 22 to Lipumba and 11 to Slaa. The biggest disappointment was the turnout, which had been 72.4 per cent in 2005, while this time only 42.84 per cent of the 20,137,303 registered voters cast their votes.

The official results showed President Kikwete with 61.7 per cent of the votes. Slaa got a respectable 26.34 per cent.

Table 1

Results of the election for Union President 2010

Candidate	Votes	Per cent
Jakaya Kikwete (CCM)	5,276,827	61.17
Willibrod Slaa (CHADEMA)	2,271,841	26.34
Ibrahim Lipumba (CUF)	695,667	8.06
Peter Kuga Mziray (APPT-Maendeleo) ⁸	96,933	1.12
Hashim Rungwe (NCCR-Mageuzi) ⁹	26,388	0.31
Muttamwega Bhatt Mgayhwa (TLP) ¹⁰	17,482	0.2
Fahmi Nassoro Dovutwa (UPDP) ¹¹ (Candidature withdrawn)	13,176	0.15

The results achieved by the popular CHADEMA candidate are remarkable. No opposition candidate has been able to achieve such a result since the re-introduction of the multi-party system.

While President Kikwete was able to achieve significant country-wide support, the CUF candidate was only successful in the Islamic-leaning coastal regions and on the islands. Slaa won his constituencies predominantly in the North around Lake Victoria, in the Kilimanjaro region, in Arusha and in individual towns such as Mbeya in the south west. The results achieved by the popular CHADEMA candidate are all the more remarkable when looked at in the context of the very difficult circumstances surrounding the election. No opposition candidate has been able to achieve such a result since the re-introduction of the multi-party system in 1992. The result was four times better than that achieved by Freeman Mbowe, the CHADEMA party leader, in 2005 (5.88 per cent). Despite turnout being down by approximately 30 per cent, the party was able to win around 1.6 million new voters (2005: 671,780). By comparison, the incumbent Kikwete lost almost 5 million voters compared to 2005 (9,102,951). He still has a comfortable majority but cracks have started to appear in CCM's dominance, which until now seemed to be written in stone and destined to continue forever. Even the CUF candidate suffered significant losses in real terms. Compared to the last election, Lipumba lost 600,000 voters (2005: 1,317,220).

8 | African Progressive Party of Tanzania.

9 | National Convention for Construction and Reform.

10 | Tanzanian Labour Party.

11 | United People's Democratic Party.

Table 2

Results of the parliamentary elections – comparison 2005/2010

Party	Directly elected seats 2010	Directly elected seats 2005	Special female quota 2010	Special female quota 2005	Total 2010	Total 2005
CCM	187	206	67	58	254	264
CHADEMA	22	5	25	6	47	11
CUF	24	19	10	11	34	30
NCCR-Mageuzi	4	0	0	0	4	0
TLP	1	1	0	0	1	1
UPD	1	1	0	0	1	1
Total	239	232	102	75	342	307

In 2010, 7 additional electoral districts were created, making a total of 239 directly-elected seats (2005: 232).

The results of the presidential elections also reflect the results of the parliamentary elections. The opposition parties made significant gains and won several seats from the CCM. The ruling party now has 187 directly-elected seats in the *Bunge*, the Tanzanian parliament (2005: 206). The CUF increased its seats from 19 to 24. CHADEMA sent 22 members to the new parliament, 17 more than in 2005. The remaining seats were divided between NCCR (4), UPD (1) and TLP (1). Only twenty of the directly-elected representatives are women. But because of the quota system, there are additional *special seats* for women. These seats, 40 per cent of the total of electoral districts, are allocated according to the percentage of direct votes won in the election based on a previously-specified list. This resulted in CHADEMA gaining a further 25 seats in parliament (2005: 6), and CUF ended up with ten more female representatives. Although CUF won in more electoral districts than CHADEMA – particularly small districts on Zanzibar – CHADEMA's *special seats* mean they will in future be the largest opposition faction in parliament because it won many more votes across the country than CUF. The CCM is sending 67 female members to the *Bunge*, nine more than in 2005.

Only twenty of the directly-elected representatives are women. But because of the quota system, there are additional "special seats" for women.

In total, the *Bunge* will be made up of more than 350 members, because in addition to the directly-elected representatives and the *special seats*, up to 16 other representatives will be joining parliament: five from the Zanzibar House of Representatives, qua Office of the Attorney General, and up to ten more who are nominated by the President. As in the past the President has not

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always used his full quota of ten possible nominations, the total number of members of parliament can vary slightly. It is assumed that the extra 16 representatives will come from the ranks of the ruling party and the CUF (Zanzibar). But CHADEMA still remains the strongest opposition party in parliament, with 47 seats. As it has also jumped the hurdle of 12.5 per cent of seats, the party will for the first time be officially termed a faction and has the right to form a shadow cabinet. This will be headed by their party chief, Freeman Mbowe, as leader of the *Official Opposition in Parliament*.

In the CCM, an array of political heavyweights were unable to defend their seats. As Tanzanian ministers also have to be members of parliament, some prominent ministers have been barred from returning to the cabinet table because they have lost their seats. These include the Interior Minister Lawrence Masha and the minister responsible for the environment, who lost his seat to a CHADEMA candidate. The former minister Gertrude Mongela, who became internationally known through her role as President of the Pan-African Parliament, also lost out to her CHADEMA opponent. One remarkable result was the election of Salum Khalfani Barwani, the first albino to be elected to parliament in the country's history. After his victory in the port city of Lindi on the Indian Ocean, he described his election as a sign of hope for all persecuted albinos in Tanzania. A further sensation was the entry into parliament of the country's most famous rap artist. Joseph Mblinyi, better known as "Mr. II" or "Sugu", defeated the resounding favorite of the CCM in Mbeya and will now strengthen the ranks of CHADEMA in Dodoma. The country's press are awaiting his first appearance in parliament with bated breath.

ELECTION RESULTS IN ZANZIBAR

The elections in Zanzibar are normally a head-to-head affair between the ruling CCM and the Islamic-leaning CUF. Pemba, Zanzibar's smaller northern island, was dominated by the CUF, while the main island Unguja is a stronghold of the ruling party. In these elections the CUF was able to win four constituencies in Unguja for the first time. This gave them 22 of the 50 seats in the Zanzibar House of Representatives. CCM lost three seats compared to 2005 and now has 28. Other parties were unable to win a single seat.

Table 3

Results of elections to the Zanzibar House of Representatives (2000-2010)

Party	Seats 2000	Seats 2005	Seats 2010
Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM)	34	31	28
Civic United Front (CUF)	16	19	22 ¹³

The new President of Zanzibar is Ali Mohamed Shein of the CCM. He got 50.1 per cent of the 364,924 valid votes. The 62 year old doctor comes from Pemba and since 2001 was Vice President of the United Republic of Tanzania. His opponent, Seif Sharif Hamad (CUF), got 49.1 per cent of the vote and became Vice President as a result of the change to the Constitution agreed during a referendum in July 2010. Because both parties agreed to share power whatever the outcome of the election there were no riots this year. Seif acknowledged his defeat as soon as the results were announced and promised to work together with the victor for the good of Zanzibar within the framework of the *Government of National Unity* which had been agreed upon. Further developments will depend on whether this experimental grand coalition, which lacks any of the checks

12 | Zanzibar also has a female quota in the House of Representatives, which was increased from 30 to 40 per cent shortly before the elections. So in addition to the 50 seats there are 20 more "special seats" for women, of which the CCM won eleven and the CUF won nine. The Zanzibar House of Representatives is therefore made up of 70 members.

and balances provided by a parliamentary opposition – all seats in the Parliament are held by members of the ruling parties – continues to exist in the medium term.

Table 4

**Results of the Zanzibar presidential elections
(2005 und 2010)**

Candidate / party 2005	Votes	%	Candidate / party 2010	Votes	%
Amani Abeid Karume (CCM)	239,832	53.2	Ali Mohamed Shein (CCM)	364,924	50.1
Seif Shariff Hamad (CUF)	207,773	46.1	Seif Shariff Hamad (CUF)	175,338	49.1

**OUTLOOK – TANZANIA ON THE WAY TO A
MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY?**

Tanzania now finds itself in a stable, democratic position that it must build upon for the future. According to international observers, the fourth presidential and parliamentary elections since the reintroduction of a multi-party system in 1992 were held in a peaceful, orderly and transparent way. After the announcement of the results international congratulations on the re-election of President Kikwete were not slow in coming. Among those to congratulate Kikwete was Chancellor Angela Merkel, U.S. President Barack Obama, and UN General Secretary Ban Ki-Moon. The international community was particularly relieved that the elections in Zanzibar went off so peacefully.

However, this positive international response should not be allowed to hide the fact that the country's transformation into a true democracy still has some way to go. The elections may have been largely free, but they were far from fair, as was made abundantly clear in a report from the Tanzanian NGO TACCEO, among others.¹³ There was criticism of incomplete voter registers being delivered far too late to polling stations so that they couldn't be checked properly. The unusually low turnout, or the huge difference between the number of votes cast and the number of registered voters at least, is also a cause for concern according

13 | Cf. Tanzania Civil Society Consortium for Election Observation (TACCEO), preliminary report on the elections 2010.

to TACCEO. There was also criticism of CCM's massive use of Government resources, which were not available to the opposition parties. These ranged from the use of infrastructure and transport through to security for political rallies and reporting in the state media. After nearly 50 years of uninterrupted rule by the CCM it is no wonder that little or no attention was given to the necessary separation of Government and party.

Much more worthy of note were the elections results achieved by the opposition, especially by CHADEMA, whose candidate, Willibrod Slaa, was able to put himself across as a serious alternative to Kikwete. For CHADEMA, who, unlike the CUF, the second most significant party of opposition, were able to establish local party structures across the country, it is now a question of using their newly won seats to strengthen their opposition role in Parliament. With the decision to nominate the popular Slaa as presidential candidate instead of the party leader, Freeman Mbowe, the party has also sent out a clear signal. Unlike the other opposition parties, whose leadership have remained largely unchanged since the 1990s, they don't want to be identified with only one leadership personality. CHADEMA wants to try to continue along the path it has taken and build up its political structures within the country. They must also address the question of whether to strengthen their commitment to politics in Zanzibar, where a *Government of National Unity* is de facto ruling without any opposition.

For its part, CCM will do all it can to win back lost ground. The loss of nearly four million votes in the presidential elections and numerous constituencies in the parliamentary elections has introduced an element of uncertainty into the party. At his official inauguration in the National Stadium in Dar es Salaam Kikwete called upon his fellow countrymen to put the political differences from the election behind them and to work together for the unity of the country and its economic development. He invited his opponents, all of whom attended except Slaa, to join him in this task. Even today people are wondering who President Kikwete's successor will be as he will not be able to stand for election again in 2015 after his second

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term in office. An obvious candidate would be his long-time Vice President Ali Mohamed Shein, but, as President of Zanzibar, many observers think he is now out of the running. The new Vice President, Mohamed Gharib Bilal, a 65 year old nuclear scientist from Zanzibar, is seen as more of a transition candidate than the future torch-bearer for the party. CCM not only needs to bring in some new people, it also needs to finally find some effective solutions to the country's pressing problems if it doesn't want to lose even more credibility and support amongst the people. Their historical credit seems to have run out and the aura surrounding the party founded by the Father of the Nation has been dented for the first time.

Against this background the Government will have to accept that it will in future be judged much more by its results. This includes using the country's high economic growth to fight poverty much more effectively than it has in the past. The number of people living in poverty has grown to 1.3 million in the last five years in spite of economic growth. There are major challenges ahead for the Government in the health and education sectors too. Mother and child mortality rates are relatively high even in an African context.

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12 million Tanzanians cannot read or write in any language. In a population of 44 million people that amount to 27.5 per cent. The reliance on international donations must also be reduced as Tanzania is currently heavily dependent on the international community. In 2009/2010 33 per cent of the national budget was financed by donor nations.

The coming months will show whether the ruling party has learned the right lessons from what was, for Tanzania, a pretty sobering election result. Even though President Kikwete suggested at his official inauguration that he would heal the rifts that opened up between the Government and the opposition during the hard-fought elections and work together with them, it is impossible to predict whether the Government is really ready to enter into open and fair competition with the opposition. If, on the other hand, CCM tries to fall back on its decades old privileges as ruling party and to hinder the work of the newly strengthened opposition through repressive means, the legitimacy of their Government could be called into question. It will be

interesting to see if CHADEMA and CUF gain sufficient self-confidence from the election results to establish themselves as equal opponents and possible alternatives to the CCM Government in the medium term, and which strategies will form the basis of their work in opposition. The first thing will be to work hard on improving their party base in order to further strengthen their roots throughout the country and at all levels in society. Observers will follow with interest how the CUF deals with its future hybrid role as part of the Government in Zanzibar and as second biggest opposition party in Dodoma. What is already clear is that CHADEMA has taken over leadership of the opposition from the CUF. They have more members of Parliament and have made a clear statement of intent with their boycott of the newly elected President's inaugural speech in Parliament. If the two larger opposition parties manage to use their increased number of seats to force the Government into greater parliamentary debate, it could lead to the role of parliament being strengthened within Tanzania's executive-driven system of government. This would be a major contribution towards the development of a multi-party democracy.